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cord the child will die if this is eaten; if it is buried deeply the child's teeth will appear late and if shallow they come early.[1]

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No traces of corresponding beliefs were found among the Kols, but they have the conviction, common to village India, that, should wrong persons get possession of the placenta and the umbilical cord they are likely to be used in magical practices dangerous to the mother and the infant. They should therefore be well-guarded and no outsider should have access to them; this is why they usually are not taken out of the house and are buried beneath the floor. A childless woman, by eating a portion of either the placenta or the umbilical cord may dispel the influences which keep her barren, but in so doing there is every chance that it will result in injury and even death in the family from which she received by stealth the required parts.

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The work of the *dai* ordinarily lasts for six days, that is, during the full period of the uncleanness. Sometimes however, this is dispensed with as far as the full period is concerned, but during the time the *dai* is in the house it is her duty to care for the mother and child. For the first three days the mother is not supposed to take anything except a little milk but after that period is over she eats a bit of food after the first bath. If the child is a male the *dai* is usually paid one rupee for her work, and if the child be of the other sex, half that amount. During the period of her work the *dai* is given food from the household and when she leaves certain other presents and clothes are likely to be forthcoming. No difference in the period of uncleanness is made on account of sex—in either case it lasts for six days. In some places there is a relaxation of the strictness after the third day. A special drink said to be made of "ginger root (*Cleome viscosa*), raw sugar (*gur*) and certain jungle roots boiled together" is given to her three times a day until she is stronger.

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During this period the mother is confined to her room. She should not touch anything and should spend the time lying down. Certain measures should now be taken to protect the mother and the young child from evil influences. These influences are particularly malignant during the first six days, but may be overcome by certain methods. A small fire should constantly burn in the lying-in room and should be kept alive by wood from the *bel* tree (*Aegle marmelos*). *Bel* is the wood of the gods and they are attracted by its smoke and no evil spirits dare be present at the same time. Sometimes twigs of *bel* wood are placed beside the infant or a twig of the same may be imbedded in the floor. The wood of the *nim* tree (*Melia azadirachta*)

1 *The Birhors*, p. 228.

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846 is also a valuable charm against evil spirits and is often used. Ashes
789 from the fire burning within the room are also taken and sprinkled around
[824] the cot or around the spot where the newborn infant is lying on the floor. No spirit will dare cross this line of ashes. Ashes are also placed on the door sill to bar access to the house from that direction. Iron is similarly used; bits of nails being driven into the frame about the door, or a piece of iron hung just over it. Sometimes wine may be sprinkled around the delivery room after the *dai* has cleaned up. This attracts the beneficent deities and as a result the evil ones will have to flee. During those six critical nights an elderly man should sleep just outside the doorway. Every form of protection known should be attempted, for there is no telling where *bhuts* may enter as they can come into the house as air does.

853 There is a night bird belonging to a class of owls which the Kols
825 greatly fear. This is the night-jar (*Caprimulgus asiaticus*), called by them the *kurset* bird and often known as the goatsucker. As it is particularly fond of human milk this bird is said to watch for the women nursing babies. During the night, when the mother and child are sound asleep, this bird is very active and may slip into the house and draw the milk from the mother's breast. The mother is not aware of this, or if she is dimly conscious of something, she believes that the baby is feeding. For lack of milk the child does not grow, gets thinner and thinner and soon dies. Its constant crying is a sure sign that the *kurset* bird is stealing away its milk. The mother is also affected and may die. The
[342] best possible protection against this bird is the closed door (there
[824] being no windows), with branches of the *nim* tree hanging over it. He may also be frightened away by ill-sounding noises. These birds, commonly seen in Central India, have a peculiar way of looking at one, as if they were staring and searching for something.

846 The stump of the umbilical cord, called the *nara*, has usually fallen off by the sixth day and this is invariably buried in the floor of the house, and fire kept burning over the place of its burial for six days more. Several things are buried with the cord, although reports vary.
[824] Occasionally some *bel* leaves are put with it and it is thus interred; again a few copper pice, some turmeric (*haldi—Curcuma longa*) and *supari* nut (*Areca catechu*) are also buried with it. At other times some grains of rice may be coloured yellow with *haldi* and then dropped one by one into the hole prepared for the cord. As each grain is dropped
[551] the name of some relative is called. In the future the child should hold these names in great respect and never call such persons directly by name. This dropping of rice, however, is not usually observed. The burial of the *nara* or cord is said to be very important. It is really a

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part of one, and if another person should get it he would have power over the child. Its burial is also, strangely, a proof of birth. If a Kol is asked where he was born he replies: "My *nara* is buried in...." and names the village. In a real sense a part of him is buried there and he is a part of that village. The spot is plastered over with a mixture of cow dung, earth and water, and the fire lit over it. The *hom* sacrifice may also be offered.

Any extraordinary happening at birth or anything unusual is generally considered a bad sign. For example, a child born with teeth already in its mouth is much feared, for it signifies bad luck and a member of the family, probably one of the parents, will be sure to die within a short time. They say the child has come to destroy a member of the family. An extra finger, though, is considered as a good omen. Twins seem to have no special significance attached to them and their occurrence appears to be infrequent among the Kols.

The Sixth Day Ceremony: Chhathi. After six days it is believed that the greatest period of danger is over and the woman can begin to make preparations to take up her normal life. This period corresponds with the time of greatest physical danger, for by the sixth day after birth, the dreaded septicaemia, if it is to come, will make its appearance. When day has come and all is well the *dhobi* and the *nai* are usually sent for. The former takes all the soiled clothes. The wife, after a preliminary bath and anointing by the *dai*, puts on fresh clothes. The barber trims the nails of her hands and feet and puts vermilion on both her feet and the feet of her child so that no evil spirit may harm them as they make their way to the place of the ceremonial bath. Her head has been oiled with *til* oil and occasionally the child has been pricked on the stomach with a hot iron, so that "the waters may be digested". All the earthen vessels in the house should be thrown out and new ones purchased from the Kumhar, and the house should be cleaned and plastered. The *nai* also gives the male members of the family a good shave, both of the face and the head.

The mother is now ready for the ceremonial bath at the village bathing place. The women of the household go there in a group accompanied by a Basor beating a drum. This is done just at sundown. The mother carries a brass vessel (*lota*) on the top of which burns an earthenware lamp (*diya*). At the place of bathing offerings are made: cocoanut, *haldi*, *supari*. Incense may be sprinkled in the fire in the lamp. Mustard seed (*rai*) is often scattered about in order to frighten off any evil spirits which may be at the place ready to injure the mother and the child. There is then a formal sort of bath, the water being

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

846 poured over the mother who is now considered as perfectly clean—able
[574] to take her full place in society again. That night there is a feast for the
women folk only, called *bilui*. Special foods prepared with *haldi* and
ghi are partaken of, there is singing and dancing following the feast, and
[431] the whole ceremony usually lasts all night. If a feast is impossible
raw sugar (*gur*) is distributed among the singers. The whole procedure

[531]

Fig. 18

[577] is usually called *chhatthi*, or sixth day ceremony and signifies the re-
moval of uncleanness. In Rewa we were told that at this time Dulha
[531] Baba, who is often regarded as a household god, should be worshipped.
Certain drawings are put upon the walls of the houses at this time. They

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vary considerably, but the accompanying text figure 18, shows a form that was found by us. [537] 846

During the time the woman is confined to the house the man goes about his work just the same and no trace of the couvade has been found. If it can be managed, on the twelfth day after birth there is further rejoicing with a family feast. [574]

CHILDHOOD RITES. *Naming the Child.* Amongst the Kols of Central India the giving of the name, so important in some primitive cultures, does not seem to hold a place of any great significance. Of course certain things as noted below are done, but no trace was found of any magical rites used in the selection of names, such as Roy describes in the case of the Oraons and the Kharias.[1] There is no fixed time within which the name must be given. Under more primitive conditions we have found that often no ceremony whatsoever was in use, and when a name was given the Brahmin priest was not called in. While there is no set time for the giving of the name it is generally preferred that it be given from ten to fifteen days after birth. The proposed name may be discussed in the family before hand, and actually given to the child by one of its parents or near relatives, a friend, or even a stranger. In the latter instance we were told on two occasions that should a *chaudhari* Chamar happen to pass through the village at a propitious time he might be requested to name the child. At the time of the bestowal of the name, in the case where the family selects the name itself, the child is taken into the arms of the person giving the name who then formally announces it to those present. Until such a name is given the child is called by a pet name, *dadu* for the boy and *butu* for the girl. In Kotmi, near the borders of Rewa State, the village priest, the Kol *panda*, gives the child a name and receives four pice for this act. At the same time, being the official vaccinator, he vaccinates the child against small pox: it is a crude vaccination, but in this way the Government is able to provide some protection from the disease. 553 [564] [751]

Among the more Hindu'zed Kols use is made of the Brahmin priest. He is called upon to select the child's name and does this from a list of names in his possession which are considered auspicious for children born at certain seasons. He is paid from one to four annas for this performance. It is common to find names derived from days of the week, and Monday and Tuesday, *Somvara* and *Mangalbara* are said to be the best; the child is never named after Saturday. Again, the name of the month may be used, as in the case of the name Phagu, 553 177 [793] 553.

1 Roy, S. C., *Oraon Religion and Customs*, p. 138; *The Kharias*, pp. 209 ff.

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forms an effective bar to evil spirits who dare not cross that line. Sometimes it is dropped into milk as it is brought home, in order to protect it from the milk-loving *bhuts*.

Colours are also an effective protection. Black is particularly valuable as a prophylactic from the evil eye. Hence lamp-black is put on the face just beneath the child's eye. This disguises and renders him less attractive, and as a result the evil eye will not linger on him. Black marks on a white-washed tile or earthen pot ward off the evil eye in the case of crops. Black also pleases Kali and she is glad to see it.

Red frightens off demons and red flags found above almost every shrine have a dual significance: they please the good spirits and frighten off the evil ones. The *sendur* (vermilion) put on the bride and groom is a protective at that vital time. Following the purification ceremony, six days after the birth of the child, the mother's feet are coloured red.

Yellow also protects and there are anointings with turmeric in oil at the times of birth, wedding and death. At such crises of the soul they keep away forces bent on evil.

White is also used: a white *pot*, or daub, placed on the side of the face, immediately in front of the ears, is said to be protective in the case of the child and wards off the evil eye.

Copper. Iron and copper bangles are common among the Kols and some say that of the two copper is to be preferred and is more effective; it was offered to Hanumanji the monkey god, and is hence very sacred. On no account should this sacred metal be used for dishes nor *lotas*, especially if the *lota* is to be taken out for latrine purposes. To do this would insult Hanumanji and show disrespect to copper. The copper bangle is a very potent charm, and among Kols it is often found that children have a copper anklet on one foot and an iron one on the other. The same applies to the wrists. The little boxes frequently seen attached to strings about the neck, containing powerful protectives such as tiger's claws or *mantras* (written charms), are generally made of copper.

Incense and Smoke. Incense attracts good deities and, conversely, repels evil personalities. At the time of worship incense is thought of as having this dual function. The odour of burning *ghi* is very effectual in this respect. Smoke usually repels demons and if articles which cause an evil odour are dropped into the fire they are driven away. In the Kol birth chamber the baby is passed through smoke soon after birth, and for some days the air in the lying-in room is kept smoky by means of a fire smoldering somewhere within it.

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789 824 [844] [846] [844] [585] in room and about the door leading to it. Wood from the *bel* tree (*Aegle marmelos*) is useful if burned in the lying-in room and this is done for a period of six days after the child's birth, for this is a critical time from the point of view of evil influences. In Hindu thought *bel* is associated with the god Vishnu. The *tulasi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*) is helpful in affording a safe delivery and a bit of it is laid over the abdomen of a woman expecting a child. Mango leaves, being lucky and everlasting, are uniformly used in connection with the wedding cycle. Ginger is a devil-scarer, and turmeric (*Curcuma longa*) with its yellow colour is used continually to afford protection. The *magrohan* of the wedding booth should have turmeric put into the hole in which it is placed. The same practice is observed when the umbilical cord is buried or the foundation of a house is laid.

789 776 753 [184] *Tying the Village.* Tying the village and loosing the *devi* is a magic rite which is common among Kols and comes at set seasons. In Barela, for example, this festival is observed in connection with Mari *devi*, the goddess of cholera. It takes two forms and the observance is reported all over the Kol community.

The cholera *devi*, Marimai, must, if possible, be kept imprisoned in her shrine for a portion of the year, particularly during the cholera season. At Barela they say that she must be tied between *Baishaka* (April-May) and *Pus* (December-January). The rest of the year, say for the period of from three to four months, she may roam as she pleases. About the middle of *Pus* a *panda* cuts the cotton cord kept in the shrine. It is this cord that is supposed to imprison her, so when it is cut, she is no longer bound by it. Other *devis* are also considered to be loose at that season. Along in the month of *Baishaka*, the deity is brought back to the shrine by offerings and sacrifices, the magic thread is tied by the same *panda* that released the *devi* previously, and she is now considered bound. This is followed by a feast near the shrine to which only the men may come.

Along with this there is a second form of tying the village and the two are occasionally combined. In this case some water, wine, milk and powdered charcoal are brought to the shrine where a sacrifice is offered and the *devi* implored to let the magic ring about the village prevent the entrance into it of cholera or smallpox. The *panda* then mixes the ingredients mentioned above and the mixture is put into a glass bottle or into a tin with a tiny hole in the bottom. The men then proceed to tie the whole or a part of the village. If the whole is tied it is called *gaonbandh*, and if part, *tolabandh*. They proceed with drumming and singing and a line of the mixture is laid down, either

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1. *Dadar* or *Dadra*. This is by far the most common kind sung by Kols and is a well-known melody sung all over northern India. H. A. Popley in his book *The Music of India* says: "The *Gharai* and the *Dadra* are two Hindustani melodies. They consist as a rule of *Antara* only, sung alike to a simple melody in syncopated time, which is known as Pashto." Kols may sing this form on many occasions and at any time of the day and night, and its use is not limited as certain others are. It is used at the *Chhatthi* rejoicings when the women sing and dance on the sixth day after the birth of a child; it is used throughout the wedding cycle; and may even be used at times of religious worship. Sometimes the words are chaste and beautiful, and again a *dadra* song may contain abuse as is common at the times of weddings.[1] 533 [846] [585] [716]

2. *Bhagat*. This is predominantly the song of worship. Some Kols say it is used for the *devis* and *devtas* while *bhajans* are used for Bhagawan. This does not appear to be the actual practice however. The root of the word is from *bhakti* which means "passionate devotion," and a *bhagat* is generally sung before the gods and goddesses. It is sung when the *jawara* is sown. At times when men become controlled by the *devi* it is this type of song that helps to bring on the emotional excitement resulting in "possession". The words may apply to any occasion and the rhythm varies from the *dadra* and the *rai*.

3. *Bhajans* are religious songs, but are supposed to be addressed to the higher powers, and Bhagawan is generally mentioned. However we found an instance of a *bhajan* being addressed to Sharda.

4. *Rai*. This type implies songs of Krishna and Radha. There are various rhythms in use, but its content, as far as words are concerned, is frequently obscene. Like the two following types it is sung mostly at the *holi* season. [831]

5. *Phag*. This is named from the month of Phagun for it is supposed to be sung only during that particular month, and may be called a spring song. Phagun is the eleventh month in the Hindu year and covers the last half of February and the first half of March. This corresponds with part of the *holi* season, and some say the *phag* type of song should be sung only during the last fifteen days of the season. The contents of the majority of *phag* songs are not respectable and it is very difficult to get one sung for an outsider; they are some- [805]

1 *Op. Cit.*, p. 90.
2 Elwin calls the *Dadaria* the true forest songs of the Baigas. *The Baigas*, p. 438.

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Such birth-pangs and inner writhings as none ever dreamed, are upon me. 539
But only my little sister-in-law is aware of it all, 844
And my mother-in-law in the palace peacefully sleeps!
And there sits my husband's sister:
Massaging that woman—my mother-in-law!
And the legs of that woman's king!
For in spite of all my groanings
You waken not in your palace.

2. Congratulations for a Son.

Bhali khet jahan tilli upaji,
Gehun upaji nau sar.
Kokh bhali jahan lalan upaje,
Bajan badhaiya Ayodhya mein.

Good earth is that which gives us sesame,
And wheat grows best in fields embanked.
Blest is the womb that gives good sons,
'Tis the occasion for the *badhawa* song;
For this was sung in Ayodhya (when Ram was born).

3. A Song for the Chhatthi Rejoicings. 539
846

Kajli ke bana phula phulai bara sundara phulai,
Nahi janau maliya ke sincha se,
Aur nahin janau kheta guna?
Jo woi charon phulawa pawanti to palana binauti,
Wahi mein lalna jhulaunti jarawan ka jaleunti.

In the forests of Kajli the most beautiful flowers bloom.
To what this is due I know not:
Is it the water from the gardener's hand?
Or is it the virtue of the field itself?
If only thence I could get those fair flowers,
I would form with them a sweet cradle:
And in it rock my child,
And all my neighbours should envy.....

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Phâgun	..	February-March.
Chaita	..	March-April.
Baishâkha	..	April-May.
Jeth	..	May-June.

III. LOVE AND INTRIGUE.

1. A *dâdrâ* from Katni. The *lotâ* is a brass vessel used for carrying liquids. A cord is frequently tied about its neck and it is lowered into a well in order to bring up water. See note on 6, 7 below.

2. A *hâjlî* from Imalhapur. This is a teasing song and in this case the *hajlî* is addressed to a young maid of beauty. The *pânwâlîâ* prepares and sells the *pân*, a mixture of betel nut, lime and tobacco wrapped in Piper leaves (*Piper betel*).

3. A *dâdrâ* from Katni.

4. A *dâdrâ* sung at the wedding season: from Jubbulpore. The suspicious husband is assured that his wife's smiles and blushes are innocent, and are directed to no other man. The first line should be repeated four times.

5. A *dhîmar* from Katni. The *dhîmar* is a member of the fisherman caste, but is used in another sense.

6, 7. These are both *dâdrâs* from Katni. The symbolism of these two songs is perhaps obvious. Sexual matters are referred to by the men as entering a house, as a lotus on a pond or in terms of getting water from the well.

8. A *rîl* from Katni.

9. A *biyâ*, or wedding song; sung at the time of the circumambulation of the sacred post. From Sulavara. The terms of relationship are noted in the text of the translation. The intrigue is rather complicated and it is evident that the mother-in-law, who ought to be on her guard, is a simpleton and does not realize what is going on. The symbolism is apparent.

IV. SONGS OF SOCIAL EVENTS.

1. This song is called *chhaṭhâr* as it is sung on the sixth night after the birth of a child. The woman complains that the in-laws care nothing for her birth-pangs. Given by women near Katni.

2. A *badhwâ*, a song sung by women when a male child is born. The song is kept up for long periods and is repeated again and again. It is essentially a song of congratulation. Ayodhya was the place of Ram's birth. This song given by women near Katni.

3. Another *chhaṭhâr* or sixth-night song from Katni. A Kajalî forest (dense—black as *kajal*) is one inhabited by elephants. The swing has a sexual symbolism.

4. A *dâdrâ* from Imalhapur. The *Purabiyâs* are dwellers in the eastern parts. There is a Purbiya subdivision of Chamars. (Briggs, *op. cit.* page 24). The *Baghelâs* are men of Baghelkhand.

5. A *rîl* from Katni.

6. A marriage *dâdrâ* from Bareia and sung as a teasing song. *Marwâ* or *marhwâ*: the wedding booth.